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THE ABNAKIS
AND THEIR ETHNIC RELATIONS

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By JAMES P. BAXTER

Excerpt

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THE ABNAKIS AND THEIR ETHNIC RELATIONS.

BY JAMES P. BAXTER.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 27, 1890.

THE origin and history of the Pre-Columbian inhabitants of America possess for the student of Anthropology an ever increasing interest. Not only is the attention attracted at every turn by constantly accumulating collections of the archaic belongings of the peoples who once occupied this vast continent; but the facilities presented him for exploration are such, that he may with a minimum expenditure of physical and pecuniary capital, personally study the most interesting remains, which a decade past could be reached only by exhausting and dangerous adventure.

When Europeans, the Spaniard and Englishman, first set foot upon this continent, the one upon its southern, the other upon its northern shores, they found it peopled with men unlike themselves in complexion, language, and modes of life. If they traveled in any direction, they found that these people themselves differed in language and appearance, as well as in those arts, which minister to man's comfort and promote his civilization. Without regard, however, to these differences, they applied to them all the common, and perhaps not wholly inappropriate, title of Indians, a term which, for convenience, we may properly adopt.

There was, however, a wide difference between the men who occupied the southern, and those who occupied the northern portion of the continent; between the Aztecs of Mexico, and the Abnakis of Maine. The former had attained a degree of civilization which we hardly yet appreciate, but of which we are learning much through study of their architectural, sculptural and textual remains, which almost rival in beauty some of the admired achievements of old world art; while the latter lived in rude booths, or tents of bark, and wandered from place to place half naked, or, at best, clothed with the skins of savage beasts to which they seemed akin; indeed, had one traversed the continent northward from the Gulf of Mexico, while these peoples flourished, he would soon have experienced a loss of most of those conditions which make for civilization, and long before reaching the North Atlantic seaboard, he would have found himself face to face with an almost hopeless barbarism. The questions which would persistently have presented themselves to him, are the same which present themselves to the student, who to-day, in thought, takes the same journey; questions which relate to origin and antiquity, and to which answers must largely be derived from archæological remains, though we may learn something from early explorers, and may not altogether overlook tradition.

An early theory of the origin of the Indians of America was, that they were emigrants from the Asiatic coast, probably by the way of Behring strait; but this theory was in time overshadowed by that ad-

vanced by Morton, and which was based upon that illustrious scientist's study of the crania of tribes inhabiting widely separated parts of the continent. This theory briefly stated was that the Indians of America were indigenous to the continent: that they differed from all other races in essential particulars, not excepting the Mongolian race. That the analogies of language; of civil and religious institutions, and the arts, were derived from a possible communication with Asian peoples; or, perhaps, from mere coincidences "arising from similar wants and impulses in nations inhabiting similar latitudes:" and that the Indian inhabitants of America, excepting the polar tribes, were of one race and species, "but of two great families, which resemble each other in physical, but differ in intellectual character;" and finally that all the crania which he had studied belonged to "the same race, and probably to the Toltecan family." To this theory Agassiz lent the weight of his great name, as it so well accorded with his own theory, that, "men must have originated in nations, as the bees have originated in swarms, and as the different social plants have covered the extensive tracts, over which they have naturally spread." It is, however, evident that the autochthonic theory, which for a time passed almost unquestioned, is fast losing ground; indeed, it has become evident that in accepting it, Agassiz did not submit it to the test to which he was wont to subject questions within his own special field of investigation, but welcomed it as favoring a scheme to which he had become wedded. This change in opinion finds its warrant in Morton's

own field of cranial investigation, which has been widely cultivated since his day, disclosing faults in some of his most important deductions. Besides, a comparative study of the handiwork and lingual characteristics of the Indian peoples has been entered upon, which has already disclosed a vein, that promises to furnish a wealth of archæological knowledge. Again is our attention drawn to the high tablelands of Asia, which we now know to be geologically the earliest portion of the globe suited to man's abode. Of course we at once face here the question of man's origin, certainly a pertinent one, but altogether beyond the scope of the present inquiry. It may, however, be said in passing, that if the theory of evolution as applied to man be true, the American ape could not have been the progenitor of the American man. This is the opinion of evolutionists upon the subject, including Darwin, who declares that "man unquestionably belongs in his dentition, in the structure of his nostrils and in some other respects, to the Catarrhine, or old-world division," and that, "it would be against all probability to suppose that some ancient new-world species had varied, and had thus produced a man-like creature with all the distinctive characters proper to the old world division, losing at the same time all its own distinctive characters;" and he concludes in these words, "there can, consequently, hardly be a doubt, that man is an offshoot from the old world Simian stem, and that under a genealogical point of view, he must be classed with the Catarrhine division."

As the theory that the American man is indigenous

to the American soil has lost ground, the theory of the unity of the human family has again come to the front, and considerable testimony has been adduced to its support. The old belief, too, that human life dawned upon Asian soil has been revived and fresh arguments have sprung up in its support.

A remarkable correspondence between the peoples of the two continents is found to exist ; indeed, a comparison of the people living upon opposite sides of Behring strait show them to scarcely differ from each other. On the Asiatic side the Chuckchis well know that the two continents are connected by submarine banks, and the tradition is still current that they were once joined by an isthmus which mysteriously subsided. A marked resemblance between some of the Chuckchis and the Dakotas has been observed ; at the same time, it is obvious that in common with the Eskimos on the American side, they represent one and the same type of ancient man ; a view which is strengthened by a study of their customs, and particularly of their implements, which are analogous to those of the stone age in Europe and America. If from this point we proceed to study the tribes of the old continent, we shall find still more remarkable resemblances between them and the Indian tribes of America. Much has been written about the remarkable mounds of the western portion of the continent, and enthusiasts have declared that they were the remains of an ancient civilization, which once extended over a considerable portion of the continent ; but there is nothing to warrant such a conclusion. These mounds are of va-

ried character, some being strictly sepulchral, others defensive, and still others in the form of elevated plateaus of remarkable extent, most probably constructed for building sites, a purpose to which they were admirably adapted, since from these elevated situations, the inhabitants could more readily perceive the approach of an enemy, and more easily resist his attack. This custom of mound building is not peculiar to this continent. Extensive mounds exist among the Turcomans and other Asiatic peoples. One of these on the banks of the Turgai, is upward of a hundred feet in height and nearly a thousand feet in circumference ; nor is mound building yet obsolete, for such structures are still reared above noted chiefs by their friends, who each contribute a certain number of baskets of earth to their erection. Other customs too of the nomadic tribes of the old continent, are remarkably similar to those of some of the American tribes. Among these are the adoption of animal names ; the artificial flattening of the skull ; the burial of the dead upon the branches of trees, the ideographic method of recording thought, various religious observances, and a contempt of labor, which is left to be performed by women. Space will not permit a comparison of the art and architecture of the Mayas and Aztecs with those of the more civilized peoples of the old continent ; but here are to be found the strongest proofs of relationship, if we except lingual affinities, from a more thorough study of which we may expect still stronger proofs.

When the tide of emigration to America first began,

we cannot learn; indeed, it is not impossible that at this period, which antedated the glacial epoch, the northern portion of the two continents were united. In that remote time a temperate climate prevailed, in regions now locked in eternal ice, and swept at all seasons by devastating storms. When we view these regions now so sterile and forbidding, impenetrable even to the most daring adventurer, we can hardly realize that this was the ancestral home of most of those plants and animals with which we are now so familiar in New England and other portions of the North Temperate zone, and that here man flourished amid conditions not unfavorable to his growth and comfort; and yet we have sufficient evidence to warrant such belief. A time came, however, when a change took place; a change ascribed with much force to well known astronomical facts; the combined effect of the progress of the equinoxes, and of the changing eccentricity of the earth's orbit; a change when winter increased in severity, and the glaziers from the farther north began to move southward. The ice age had set in. As the glacial streams slowly advanced and united, they formed in time a vast ice belt stretching across the continent, and year by year continued moving toward the south. In its general form it was bow-shaped, and when its southern limit was reached, its most advanced portion rested on the southern line of Illinois, its western arm curving sharply toward the northwest, leaving uninvaded the territory occupied by Nebraska and a portion of Dakota and Montana, and its eastern arm extending northeastward until it

met the sea coast. New England was buried under a moving mass of ice, which found in the Atlantic an obstacle to its further progress.

Before the ever advancing ice flood, animals and men retreated. The men who occupied the extreme northern territory, rendered uninhabitable by the irresistible power which blighted everything in its course, were forced upon the tribes occupying more southern regions, which must have resulted in continual warfare.

How long the northern portion of the continent was enveloped in ice cannot be accurately determined; but in time this dreary scene of Arctic sterility began to change. Attacked by a power which it could not resist, the deadly ice began its retreat northward, which it continued until it reached its present limit. The men who dwelt upon its border slowly followed, forced back probably in many cases by foes. In their long wanderings many of the rude belongings of these people, whom many archaeologists believe to be the ancestors of the present Eskimos, must have been lost, and those of an imperishable nature we should expect to find among the débris left behind by the glaciers. In this we are not disappointed. Numerous rudely chipped implements of stone, similar in form, but as unlike the stone implements found in more recent deposits, as early Saxon implements are unlike the finished productions of the English people of the nineteenth century, are found in deposits indisputably belonging to the glacial period. These paleolithic, or ancient stone implements, so called to distinguish them from neolithic, or new stone implements, are known by

their rudely chipped surfaces, unfinished cutting edges and irregularity of form; while neolithic implements are often finely finished, with cutting edges smoothly and sharply ground, and symmetrical of form, showing considerable skill in their manufacture.

Although we have attempted to briefly outline the theory believed to be most in accord with present archæological knowledge respecting the origin of the Indian tribes of America, it has not been our purpose to consider the more civilized peoples of the extreme south. In outlining the broader theory, we have hoped to obtain a point of view from which we could more intelligently consider a branch of a great family of Indians, who occupied the northern and eastern portion of the continent, south of the Arctic tribes.

As the glaciers disappeared from the lake country of the north and the New England seaboard, a region especially favorable to the sustentation of man was rendered accessible, and was gradually taken possession of by advancing tribes. These tribes probably came from the west, and if we follow westward the lines most available to sustain a migratory people in their wanderings, we shall reach a vast region on the Pacific coast, embracing the valley of the Columbia and adjoining territory, possessing all the requisites for sustaining a large population; indeed when we study this region where coast and stream still yield fish in marvelous abundance, and where thick forests stretching east still shelter vast numbers of fur-bearing animals, we may reasonably entertain the belief that here, for a long period, was the initial point, the nur-

sery, so to speak, from which migration south and east set out.

We are not to suppose that these migrations were the result of caprice. On the contrary, they were movements inspired by purpose and guided by natural law, and would continue under the influence of physical causes alone, until the confines of the continent were reached. We should expect the advancing tribes to follow those lines most accessible to the regions which would furnish them with game and fish upon which, especially the latter, they depended for subsistence; hence we should expect to find them following the more fertile valleys, and gathering about the lakes, along the streams, and upon the seaboard, especially in the neighborhood of extensive forests, which would afford a haunt for game; and as these movements would occupy long periods of time, and tribes of the same original stock would become so widely separated as to have no intercourse together, we should expect changes to take place between them, which would constitute noticeable differences in customs, habits of life, and especially in language, and in this we shall not be disappointed. When the early European colonists began to occupy the eastern shores of the continent, they found it in the possession of various tribes of people having similar physical characteristics, manners, and customs. Their complexion was uniformly of a coppery brown hue; their hair black, straight and lank, differing, as is now known from the hair of the European in structure, having its coloring matter in the cortex instead of a central duct. Their eyes were

black and piercing; their noses aquiline, their mouths large and their faces beardless, owing to a custom prevalent among them of plucking the hair from their faces, whenever it appeared. Physically they were tall, muscular, lithe and active, and could endure severe hardship without apparent inconvenience. Further study of these tribes revealed the fact that they belonged to one great family, though their speech had so changed that tribes living remote from one another could not hold converse together; moreover, they were in continual strife, frequently engaging in wars, which caused the destruction of whole tribes. This great family, to which the French gave the title Algonkin, stretched along the Atlantic seaboard from Labrador to South Carolina, and westward to the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, occupying very nearly the country which had been covered by the glacial flood, except, where into its territorial domain another powerful family had thrust itself like an immense wedge, the head of which rested on southern Canada, between Lake Champlain and Lake Huron, while its point penetrated Virginia, separating the tribes on the Atlantic seaboard from the western tribes, and harassing them with destructive wars. These intruders, to whom the French gave the title of Iroquois, were fiercer than the Algonkins, whom they most bitterly hated; being feared and as bitterly hated in return. By tradition they held that they once occupied the region along the St. Lawrence as far east as Gaspé bay, but had been driven westward by the Algonkins, who had invaded their territory from the east. This

tradition will be noticed later. When discovered by Europeans, the Algonkin tribes on the Atlantic seaboard had become stationary within limited areas, while the tribes to the west were still in movement. Observation has shown that the nomadic condition is unfavorable to the cultivation of the arts which tend to the development of man's higher faculties ; hence, in settled communities, agriculture thrives and competition stimulates the people to improvement in manners, as well as handiwork. This settled condition had but partially obtained among the Algonkins of the Atlantic seaboard. They had, it is true, their settled villages and cultivated lands, but these villages were of an unstable character, and were not unfrequently abandoned for localities supposed to possess greater advantages. In spite of this, the semi-settled condition of these Atlantic tribes conduced to more gentle manners, and stimulated them in some degree to imitate their European neighbors. This was especially noticeable in the Narragansetts, a tribe which had advanced beyond all others in the manufacture of those implements which were necessary to savage life, and whose production, were eagerly sought by even remote tribes. Upon the introduction of the more elegant products of English workmanship, these people at once began to improve their own work, and in some cases succeeded in producing articles of considerable elegance, which found a ready market in the shops of London.

The Algonkin tribes possessed certain useful arts. They understood the fashioning of domestic utensils of clay, rudely ornamented and hardened by fire ; the

manufacture of a great variety of implements in wood, stone and bone; of rope and twine for nets from filaments of bark; of hand weaving from the same material into various articles of ornament and use, and from reeds and osiers into baskets; the making of boats; the canoe of birch bark, and the dugout of wood; also the construction of musical instruments; the primitive pipe and drum. Moreover, they employed the ideographic method of recording thought. These arts were possessed by all the Algonkin tribes in greater or less perfection, but the more stationary tribes, like the Narragansets, excelled the others in their practice.

Having thus briefly given a general description of the Algonkin family, we may properly examine one of its most interesting branches, the Abnakis of New England, whose chief seat was within the limits of the present state of Maine. While possessing the general physical characteristics of the great family to which they belonged, the Abnakis were more gentle in manners, and more docile than their western congeners; the result perhaps, of more settled modes of life. They were hunters, fishermen and agriculturists; if their rude methods of cultivating the maize, the squash, the bean, and a few other esculents entitle them to the latter term. At all times they appear to have depended largely upon fish for subsistence, though maize furnished them with an important winter diet; indeed we are told, that they undertook long journeys through the snow, with nothing to sustain them but parched maize pounded to a powder, three spoonfuls of which sufficed for a meal. In their agriculture, they

used fish, of which there was a wonderful abundance, to fertilize their crops ; one or two fish being placed near the roots of the plant. Their dwellings were not constructed with a view to permanence ; but frequently exhibited considerable taste in arrangement and decoration. They were usually of bark fastened to poles in a pyramidal form, and covered with woven mats, which rendered them impervious to wet, and when furnished with abundance of skins, were comfortable for habitation. Their villages were inclosed for protection, with palings set upright in the earth. Each village had its council lodge of considerable size, oblong in form, and roofed with bark, and similar structures were made use of by male members of the village, who preferred to club together in social fellowship. They were hospitable to a fault, and delighted to entertain strangers in their rude fashion, generously sharing with them their food, even when the supply was scanty. They possessed no articles of furniture, using skins to sit upon as well as for beds, and mother earth served for a table upon which to spread their simple viands. Their costumes were of the simplest kind. In summer they went naked with the exception of a breech cloth fastened about the waist, and hanging down before and behind like a double apron ; but in winter, they wore leggins of dressed buckskin, reaching to their feet, which were shod with moccasins, usually of moose hide, which they skillfully tanned, the upper parts of their bodies being protected by loose mantles made of the skins of wild beasts. Like all untutored people, they de-

lighted in ornaments, and decked themselves gaily with bracelets, ear pendants, and curiously wrought chains, or belts, all of which were usually formed of carven shells, bones, and stones. They also painted their faces, and, according to Wood, imprinted figures with a searing iron upon their bodies; perhaps, as he suggests, "to blazon their antique Gentilitie," for, he says, "a sagamore with a Humberd in his eare for a pendant, a black hawke on his occiput for his plume, Mowhackees for his gold chaine, good store of Wampompeage begirting his loynes, his bow in his hand, his quiver at his back, with six naked Indian splatterdashes at his heeles for his guard, thinkes himself little inferior to the great Cham; hee will not stick to say, hee is all one with King Charles."

Father Vetromile asserts, that, "Their sentiments and principles of justice had no parallel amongst the other tribes," and that they were never known to have been "treacherous nor wanting in honor or conscience in fulfilling their word given either in public or private treaty." While we may properly regard this as too great praise, we must admit that they possessed a nobility of character remarkable in a savage people. It is certain that the missionaries found them more tractable and more ready to listen to their teachings than any other branch of the Algonkin family with which they came in contact. Although dignified and taciturn in council, and among strangers, when free from restraint they were social and always ready to join in amusements among themselves. They favored athletic sports, and engaged freely in

competitive trials of skill in wrestling, running, swimming and dancing. Their most exciting game was football, which they played on immense courses, with goals a mile apart, a single game continuing sometimes for two days. They also indulged in games of chance, two of which Wood has graphically described to us under the names of Puim and Hubbub,* which he says are "not much unlike Cards and Dice;" and he asserts, that they would often become so bewitched by these games, that they would lose at a sitting, "Beaver, Moose skinnies, Kettles, Wampompeage, Mowhackies, Hatchets, Knives;" in fact, everything which they possessed; and yet, we are assured, that however fierce the competition in these games might become, they never quarreled nor harbored feelings of anger on account of losses, or even of injuries received in athletic sports, but as friends would "meete at the kettle."

Their domestic relations were sacred. Polygamy was but little practiced by them. Courtship was simple, and the initiatory act was the bestowal of a present upon the parents of the girl sought in marriage. If the present was received, the marriage was consummated without ceremony, and the contract was held by the parties inviolable. The life, however, of the woman, was one of hardship. She was expected to construct the covering of the dwelling; to braid the mats; to cultivate the garden; and to prepare the

*This Indian game of chance, accompanied as it was by constant exclamations of hub, bub! hub, bub! caused the early adventurers to the New England coast to call any noisy demonstration a "hubbub." The term having its original application is still in common use in New England, and is used to some extent elsewhere in the United States. Skeat in his Etymological Dictionary, permitting himself to be misled by similarity of sound and meaning, derives it from whoop. The old form he conceives to have been whoop-whoop, a reduplication from the Anglo Saxon *wōp*, an outcry. It is, he says, "in any case connected with whoop."

meals, of which it was not considered proper for her to partake, until her husband and guests had regaled themselves. In spite of this, the affection which these rude parents exhibited for their children was considerable. They were reared with care, and as soon as they were able to walk, the boys were taught the use of weapons; especially of the bow with which they became remarkably expert; and the girls the art of basket making and other domestic employments. Especial pride was taken by parents in the exploits of their sons, and the first game which they secured was publicly exhibited, and afterwards devoted to a feast for their friends.

Both men and women are uniformly described as being modest, and perhaps the most remarkable thing to be recorded in favor of the Abnaki warrior is the fact that no female prisoner ever had occasion to complain of him in this respect.

Vetromile records the important fact that the Abnakis, and they alone of the Algonkin family, possessed the art of chirography, and he gives specimens of characters employed by them, which strikingly remind one of the ancient phonetic script of Egypt and Phœnicia. He further states that the people were accustomed to send missives to one another written upon birch bark, and the chiefs, to dispatch written circulars of the same material to their warriors, asking for advice; indeed, the Abnakis asserted that their method of writing expressed ideas as fully and as freely as that employed by Europeans. Their government was autocratic. The king held

absolute rule, and at his death was succeeded by his oldest son. If childless, the queen assumed authority. If he left neither son nor consort to succeed him, then his office was assumed by his nearest relative.

To understand a people, it is necessary to study their religious beliefs, since these often furnish motives for actions in themselves unintelligible. The Abnaki believed in the existence of an unseen world, and of unseen beings by whom it was peopled, and with whom his priests could commune. These priests, or as rudely translated into English, medicine men, performed the threefold function of priest, prophet and physician, and they often practiced an asceticism as severe as that of the ascetic priests of India. To the ignorant child of the forest, they possessed miraculous power, beholding the hidden things of a supernatural sphere, which rendered them capable of forecasting the future. We should not regard them as impostors. Reared from childhood in the belief of supernatural existences, which found embodiment in the surrounding forms of nature; subject to long fasts and solitary communings with imaginary beings, they held themselves to be akin to the mysterious powers to whose service they were devoted, and acceptable mediums of communication between them and the common people. These men, therefore, exercised a controlling influence upon the tribes, as men exercising the priestly function have done in all ages, and among all races of men. To them the proudest chiefs bowed submissively, and obeyed without question their mysterious utterances.

In common with other tribes of the Algonkin family,

and in striking correspondence with Oriental beliefs, the Abnakis held that the world was under the influence of dual powers; beneficent and maleficent, and that there was one great spirit who held supreme rule, but at the same time did not interfere with these ever conflicting powers. Upon this conception of deity their entire system of religious belief necessarily hinged; hence their belief in guardian spirits which they denominated manitos, took a peculiar form, a belief which perhaps exercised greater influence upon their daily actions, than any other doctrine which they cherished in the gloom of their unillumined minds. In order to come into true relationship with his manito, the youth, when he reached the age of puberty, subjected himself to a painful fast, which induced dreams. In this state, he believed that his manito presented himself in the form, usually of some bird or beast of which he dreamed, and this animal became his manito, and was adopted as his totem or crest. Thenceforward he was under the influence and guardianship of his manito, but it might be either good or evil, and subject to a more powerful manito possessed by another member of his tribe, which often caused him anxiety.

That they believed in a future existence, old writers generally testify. Wood, who was a close observer, quaintly says that "they hold the immortality of the never-dying soule, that it shall passe to the Southwest Elysium concerning which their Indian faith jumps much with the Turkish Alchoran

holding it to be a kinde of Paradise, wherein they shall everlastingly abide, solacing themselves in odoriferous Gardens, fruitfull Corne fields, greene Medows, bathing their tawny hides in the coole streames of pleasant Rivers, and shelter themselves from heate and cold in the sumptuous Pallaces framed by the skill of Nature's curious contrivement; concluding that neither care nor paine shall molest them, but that Nature's bounty will administer all things with a voluntary contribution from the storehouse of their Elyizan Hospitall, at the portall whereof they say, lies a great Dogge, whose churlish snarlings deny a Pax intransigentibus to unworthy intruders: Wherefore it is their custome to bury with them their Bows and Arrows, and good store of their Wampompeag and Mowhackies; the one to affright that affronting Cerberus the other to purchase more immense prerogatives in their Paradise. For their enemies and loose livers, who they account unworthy of this imaginary happiness, they say, that they passe to the infernall dwelling of Abamocho, to be tortured according to the fictions of the ancient Heathen."

The doctrine of metempsychosis, in an obscure form, seems to have been held by these people, and also of the duality of the soul, which is said to have been the reason for their custom of burying domestic utensils and other articles with the dead, and of placing food upon their graves. A singular statement is made by Mather, that they called the constellation of Ursa Major by a word in their language, which possessed the same signification. In common with many other

racés of mankind, they regarded the serpent as being the embodiment of supernatural power, superior in wisdom and cunning; in fact, a manito, which demanded their reverence. Charlevoix tells us that they painted the figures of serpents upon their bodies, and that they possessed the power so noted among the natives of India, of charming them.

Believing in the constant nearness of supernatural agencies, we cannot wonder that they beheld in every object in nature a form with which such an agency could mask itself. The wind, invisible to the eye, but announcing unmistakably its presence to the ear, formed to them the truest symbol of spiritual power, as it ever has with civilized man. The fire, whose beneficent heat was so necessary to them; the waters which yielded them subsistence; the animals which haunted the woodland glooms, aye! the very trees and rocks, and above all, the great luminaries of night, whose movements they could not comprehend, prefigured to them mysteries which they strove in vain to grasp.

An affinity between Abnaki and Scandinavian myths and legends, should not pass unnoticed; though we may not be able to indicate how it obtained. That such affinity exists, seems, however, evident, and the suggestion of a Norse-Greenland source, through an Eskimo channel may not be altogether presumptuous, though far from conclusive, since it is not impossible that the myths of both peoples may have come down from a common source by different channels.

In this brief sketch, we have given about all that is known of this interesting people. They have left

behind no monuments to excite the admiration of the archæologist ; nothing in fact, but implements of stone and bone to testify to their former existence. Along the shores of bays, islands, and river estuaries, where fish most abounded, may be seen slight elevations usually of a more vivid green than the surrounding land. To the inexperienced eye, these are but knolls, the common handiwork of nature ; but, if examined more closely, are found to be composed of comminuted shells. These are the kitchen middens of the Abnakis, and when opened, reveal objects of interest. At first we are likely to come upon ashes and blackened embers, among which are stones that bear the marks of burning, and, with emotions akin to awe, we realize that we are invading the fireside of an ancient people, to whom the surrounding landscape, wood, stream, and rocky shore, were familiar and beloved objects. With care we examine the mingled shells and earth which the spade exposes to view, among which are the bones of birds and beasts, the remnants of former feasts, as are, indeed, the shells, the extent and depth of which reveal a long continued occupation of the spot. Often our search is rewarded by the discovery of fragmentary vessels of burnt clay, bearing the indented ornamentation familiar to archæologists, and implements of bone and stone upon which time has wrought no change. The axe, which was used for a variety of purposes, was commonly formed from a stone of convenient size and form by bringing to a cutting edge one end, and working about the other a deep groove, by which it could be hafted, by attaching to it a cleft stick, with the end

wound with a leathern thong; or two sticks, one placed on each side of the grooved stone, and held together by being wound the entire length with a similar thong. These axes were of various forms, and made of many varieties of stone. Some made of slate or stone, which lent itself readily to lapidarian art, being of elegant shape and finish. Stone axes have been found a foot in length, and more than half as wide, but specimens five or six inches in length are more common. The smaller axes were probably used in war, and known in Indian parlance as tomahawks.

Another form of stone implements found in the middens is the celt or chisel. These are slender stones of some length, with one end worked to a straight cutting edge, and were probably used by being fixed into a horn, or cylindrical handle of wood, of suitable size, which would permit the exposure of the cutting edge. Some of these stones are grooved in the form of a gouge, and served the purpose of the modern implement of that character. Occasionally one comes upon an implement which probably served as a hammer. It is usually an oval stone with a groove worked around it, by which it could be hafted. A rare implement is semi-luna in form, and was used for cutting purposes. It was five or six inches in length, the rounded edge being ground thin, the straight side being held in the palm of the hand. Doubtless many chipped flint stones, with sharp edges, which are mistaken for spear heads, were used as knives.

Sometimes we come upon an implement resembling an imperfect arrow head, but with a long and slender

point. This was used for drilling holes, and served the purpose of the modern drill or awl.

Oblong stones more or less finished were more common. Some of these were used in dressing the skins of beasts, and others as pestles for pulverizing maize. A common boulder having a depression upon its surface, often served for a mortar, but sometimes a mortar neatly wrought from a stone of convenient size and form is found. Such a specimen is highly prized to-day, as it doubtless was by its Indian owner.

The most common objects found are spear and arrow heads. These are made usually of flint, or stone of similar hardness, and often show much skill in their manufacture; indeed, it is no easy task for the modern lapicide to imitate them. They are of various forms, and their use may be largely determined by their size. Some arrow-points are simple triangular forms, and were slipped into the split end of the shaft. Some of the spear and arrow heads have a groove at the base so as to be bound to the shaft by a sinew, and others have but a narrow, straight projection, which permitted them to become easily detached from the shaft. The reason for this seems evident. By this means the point was left in the flesh, greatly aggravating the wound. Whether any of these points were poisoned, or not, is a mooted question.

It is well known that besides the spear and arrow, the Indian used a mace or weighted club. This consisted of a round stone which was covered with skin and bound securely to the handle. Those which were grooved readily attract the attention of the delver in

the middens. Among the most interesting objects which reward the relic searcher are pipes. They are not only curious in form, but are often elegantly wrought and, we must believe, were highly prized by their owners, as they were by the early European settlers, who obtained them from the Indians whenever they could induce them to part with them, and sent them to Europe where they were in demand by curiosity hunters. Occasionally a pipe of red clay is found, similar in shape to the clay pipe of civilized man, but being composed of more fragile material than the stone pipe, is usually imperfect.

Among the more common objects, are stones, often in the form of an elongated egg, with a groove around the smaller end, which are sometimes mistaken for pestles, but their size clearly denotes their use as sinkers or weights.

Some of the most curious objects, and those which perplex the student most, are perforated, and, in rare instances, inscribed stones, in forms which rendered them unfit for any conceivable use, unless as has been supposed, they were employed in ceremonial observances. Some were doubtless used merely as ornaments. The implements of bone, which are quite common in the middens, would require considerable space to properly describe. They were mostly used for perforating soft materials, for sewing, and for spearing the smaller fish. Many of the Indian hooks were made of bone.

The wampum, which the Indians so highly esteemed, and which served the important purposes of trade and personal adornment, has mostly perished. It was

composed largely of beads made of variously colored shells often curiously wrought; the colored specimens being considered of the highest value, unless we except those of copper, usually cylindrical in form.

Of their pottery only fragments remain, but these cannot be mistaken for fragments of the pottery of civilized man, as they bear the peculiar indented decoration so common among barbarous people, consisting of upright, diagonal, and curved lines made with a pointed instrument, or left by the mold in which the vessel was formed, and which was of some coarsely woven material.

What has been thus briefly described, constitutes nearly all that remains to tell us of a most interesting people; but this description serves as well to depict the remains of neolithic man in the old world. If we cross the ocean to explore midden and barrow, we shall unearth objects of the same form and character as those we have found on the shores of New England; the same spear and arrow heads; the same axes, stone sinkers, hammers, chisels, gouges, bone implements, and even fragments of pottery, with the same indented decoration, showing how universal was the art peculiar to neolithic man. We may not pause, however, to pursue the interesting questions which here present themselves to us; but consider in a few words the relation which the Abnakis of Maine bore to certain tribes somewhat further west. Vetromile, who was, perhaps, as well qualified as any student of the Abnaki tongue to give us the correct etymology of the name, insists that the modern title was derived

from wanbnaghi, and signifies, our ancestors of the East, and not, as some other writers have supposed, men of the East. This title, our ancestors of the East was applied to the Indians of Maine, by some of the tribes west of them, and reminds us of the tradition, of the Iroquois, already alluded to, that, they once occupied the country as far east as the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but were driven westward by the Algonkins. We cannot but regard this tradition with interest, and coupled with the title bestowed upon the Abnakis of the coast by their congeners living between them and the Iroquois, as significant; nor can we escape the conclusion, that the Abnakis, after reaching the coast of New England, gradually spread northward along the seaboard until they reached the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where they encountered the Iroquois; and forced them slowly back against the western tribes, compelling them to extend their lines southward, until they occupied the strange position in which they were found when discovered by Europeans; a position which separated the Algonkins of the east from their brethren of the west.

The territory from which the Iroquois had been driven was occupied by the Algonkins, the tribes which called the Indians of Maine their fathers of the east, and which if the theory assumed is correct, was their proper title. If the Iroquois and Algonkins migrated from the west as the traditions of both peoples claim it is probable that the former pursued a line north of the latter. In their long continued migrations, they may at times have approached each other, and come

into conflict. That they finally met upon the seaboard, and that the Iroquois were forced westward by the Algonkins, seems probable. Harassed by the Algonkins, who hemmed them in on every side, and living in a state of perpetual warfare, the Iroquois at last became such fierce and cruel experts in war, as to strike their Algonkin enemy with dread. As they were obliged to extend towards the south, it is quite apparent that they forced the Algonkins, who occupied territory on their southern border, still farther south, until they had reached the extreme limits which they occupied when discovered by European adventurers. By the fierce conflicts, which brought about this condition, the Abnakis of the New England seaboard were not affected. Their conflicts were with their own lineage. They, might, however, have continued until to-day, using their poor implements of stone and bone, in happy ignorance of more useful ones, had not civilized man come in contact with them. As it is, but a remnant now remains of our fathers of the east.

Mr. Sumner H. R. 14196

LEASE OR SALE OF LIMESTONE DEPOSITS, TUSCARORA
NATION OF NEW YORK INDIANS.

MARCH 10, 1914.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

Mr. CLANCY, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, submitted the
following

REPORT.

[To accompany H. R. 14196.]

The Committee on Indian Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 14196) authorizing the Tuscarora Nation of New York Indians to lease or sell the limestone deposits upon their reservation, having duly considered the same, recommend that the bill do pass.

All of the Indians present before your committee recognized the jurisdiction of the Federal Government over this matter, and that the Indians have no right to lease or sell the lands without the authority and consent of said Government, but are desirous that some disposition of at least a part of their limestone deposits should be made at once. They are insistent that their nation should be recognized and empowered to carry on negotiations to that effect, but that no contract be entered into until it is approved by a referendum vote of the entire adult roster of the nation, and any such contract shall be further subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior; and that the matter of the disposition of the limestone deposits be thoroughly advertised, so that there will be no possibility of one or more particular contractors being favored by any faction which may exist among their people.

There is considerable diversity of opinion as to the extent and value of this deposit. Evidence submitted shows that the best tentative offer the nation has received on a royalty basis is 1 cent per short ton, and the best lump-sum offer for a lease covering about 250 acres, same being a strip 40 rods wide on the north line of the reservation, is \$50 per acre ground rent to the occupants of the strip, and \$126 per capita to all the members of the nation, regardless of age or sex—all to be paid in advance.

There is some difference of opinion as to whether a lease for a lump sum or upon a royalty basis is for the best interests of the nation.

The Geological Survey values the contents of these deposits at 10 cents per ton, while Mr. Edward H. Foley, superintendent of the Solvay quarries at Jamesville, N. Y., a practical quarryman, states that a price of 2 cents a short ton would be favorable to the Indians.

The quantity contained in the 40-rod strip is estimated by the Geological Survey as containing 6,306,000 long tons on the 250-acre tract, if 9 feet deep. Evidence produced, however, questions the estimated depth of the deposit as being 9 feet. One of the Indians, Mr. Edgar L. Rickard, who has worked in neighboring quarries, claims that the depth is considerably less than this.

We beg to quote from Geological Bulletin No. 522, of the United States Geological Survey, pages 276, 277, and 279, as follows:

The limestones of Clinton age in the western part of the State, though not particularly thick nor high grade, are of great value because of the lack of better stone in a region where the demand is great.

* * * * *

The iron and steel plants in the Buffalo region now require about 3,000 tons of fluxing rock per day, and this requirement is likely to increase rather than decrease in the future. Until recently the chief sources of flux have been the pure limestone lenses at the base of the Onondaga limestone. But these lenses, both in Canada and in the United States, are now within measurable reach of exhaustion, so that the intensity of demand for a pure limestone in the Buffalo region is very great. In view of these facts, the recently developed limestones of Clinton age become of peculiar industrial importance.

* * * * *

The total tonnage available is, however, limited, and unless new ones are discovered the supply from this source can not last for many years.

The Tuscarora limestone deposits are on the line of the Rome, Watertown & Ogdensburg Railroad, and are located but a few miles from the point of consumption.

Your committee recommends that in case a contract is consummated the distribution of the amount received by the Secretary of the Interior be paid at once to the adult members of the nation, and such portion as belongs to the minors of the nation be deposited in the Treasury of the United States until they shall become of age, when it shall be distributed among them by the Secretary of the Interior.

If a lease is made on a royalty basis, it is desirable that as large an advance payment as possible be secured, as many members of the nation who have been carrying the burden of the nation are well advanced in years, and if they do not receive an early distribution would probably benefit but little from their limestone deposits.

The legislation proposed by the bill has the indorsement of the department, as evidenced by the following letter of the First Assistant Secretary of the Interior:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, December 13, 1913.

MY DEAR MR. STEPHENS: I have the honor to transmit herewith draft of proposed legislation which has for its purpose the leasing or sale of limestone deposits within the Tuscarora Indian Reservation, under rules and regulations to be prescribed by this department.

It will be noted that the proposed bill is identical with the one submitted to your committee by letter of this department, dated April 4, 1912, in connection with H. R. 19070, and a copy of the letter referred to is inclosed.

It might be well to invite the attention of your committee to the fact that since the inclosed letter was written the question of Federal jurisdiction over these lands has been questioned by a committee appointed by the council of chiefs of the Tuscarora

Nation. It is a fact that the Government, in the treaty of Buffalo Creek of January 15, 1838 (7 Stat., 554), recognized that the Tuscarora Indians owned their lands in fee simple, but Congress has enacted various laws relating to the subject of leasing lands of the New York Indians: Acts of February 19, 1875 (18 Stat., 330); September 30, 1890 (26 Stat., 558); February 20, 1893 (27 Stat., 470); June 7, 1897 (30 Stat., 90); February 28, 1901 (31 Stat., 819); and March 3, 1901 (31 Stat., 1809). This department, therefore, has no hesitation in recognizing that Federal jurisdiction over the leasing of the lands is still maintained. It is respectfully urged that the proposed legislation receive the favorable consideration of your committee and the Congress.

Very truly, yours,

A. A. JONES,
First Assistant Secretary.

HON. JOHN H. STEPHENS,
*Chairman Committee on Indian Affairs,
House of Representatives.*

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, April 4, 1912.

HON. JOHN H. STEPHENS,
*Chairman Committee on Indian Affairs,
House of Representatives.*

SIR: With your letter of February 1 you submitted, with request for report thereon, a copy of H. R. 19070, a bill to authorize a lease between Samuel S. Carroll and William E. Carroll and the Tuscarora Nation of Indians of New York. February 8 you were advised that the department was without sufficient information upon which to base such a report, and that a further report would subsequently be made.

Upon further investigation, there was found to be a considerable divergence of opinion as to the attitude of the Indians in the matter and as to the adequacy of the consideration proposed to be paid, and some considerable time has necessarily been spent to secure information on these matters. I am transmitting herewith a copy of a report of the Director of the Geological Survey, a copy of the report of the special agent for these Indians, with inclosures, a copy of a letter from Mr. Fred M. Ackerson, and also a blue-print map and memorandum filed on behalf of Carroll Bros. As the department has not taken time to prepare a copy of the memorandum, it is hoped that the original may be returned for the files of the department when it shall have served the purpose of your committee.

The Tuscaroras number about 360 persons. The land proposed to be leased to Carroll Bros. is a strip about 40 rods wide and a little over 3 miles long, extending nearly the length of the reservation and containing about 250 acres. The price proposed to be paid, \$126 to each individual for the limestone deposit, and \$50 per acre to individual occupants in compensation for use of the surface, amounts in all to about \$58,000. The Director of the Geological Survey estimated, on the basis of 28,000 long tons of stone per acre (bed 9 feet thick), and deducting 10 per cent for waste in quarrying, that there should be recovered 25,200 long tons of stone to the acre, or 6,306,000 tons in a tract of 250 acres. He concludes, from the average value per ton of limestone produced for furnace flux in New York State, the high quality of this deposit, its proximity to a railroad, and the short haul to the Buffalo blast furnaces, that the limestone in this deposit is worth at the present time 10 cents a ton in the ground and unquarried, or about \$630,600.

Carroll Bros. contend that the fair market value of this property is to be determined by the price paid by other owners of like property adjacent to and in the vicinity of the land in question, and by the price paid for limestone lands within a radius of the Niagara frontier, where the freight rates do not materially differ from those between the furnaces and the Tuscarora property. It is then stated that about three years ago the Lackawanna Steel Co. purchased about 1,100 acres of limestone land immediately east of the Tuscarora deposits at the average price of \$106 per acre, that land in Niagara County, about 15 miles from the Tuscarora land, has been purchased at an average price of less than \$100 per acre, and that they (Carroll Bros.) have contracts and propositions for sale of lands in Cayuga County, where the deposits are 50 feet in depth, at a price averaging around \$166 per acre, and that in the Province of Ontario, Canada, limestone land averaging 50 feet in depth of commercial limestone has been offered for sale at \$172 per acre.

Fred M. Ackerson, district attorney of Niagara County, N. Y., has submitted a statement from the engineers for the Lackawanna Steel Co. showing that much of

the company's property lying east of and adjoining the Tuscarora lands does not contain available metallurgical stone, that the net area that contains commercial limestone is 632.74 acres, which contains an average of 29,000 tons per acre. Mr. Ackerson asserts that the layer of limestone is heavier toward the Niagara River, and therefore that there will be more than 29,000 tons per acre in the Tuscarora lands. He places the value at not less than 20 cents per ton in the ground, or a total of ~~\$1,500,000.~~

While it is not possible from the reports thus received to say with any degree of definiteness what is the real value of these lands and deposits, it is indicated very clearly that the consideration named in the bill does not fairly represent that value.

It will be noted from the special agent's report that the assent of the Indians was given by only a slight majority of the council, and that it was satisfactory to only a like proportion of the membership generally. It is further indicated that the attitude of the Indians has been changed by reason of later developments and a full discussion of the matter, and that probably a comparatively small proportion of the tribe is now satisfied with the proposition submitted.

The method of payment—that is, so much per capita to each member, to be made apparently directly by the lessees—is bad. The experience of the department in making per capita payments to these Indians has shown that many questions arise as to the rights of individuals claiming membership in the tribe, and as to who are entitled as representatives of deceased members. These questions should not be left to be determined by an interested party, like a lessee from the tribe.

It is believed, however, that the present owners of this property, which came to them by purchase or gift, and not through the United States, should be placed in position to obtain an income therefrom, and it is suggested that a bill substantially in the following form would accomplish the purpose and conserve the interests of the Indians:

"A BILL Authorizing the Tuscarora Nation of New York Indians to lease or sell the limestone deposits upon their reservation.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Tuscarora Nation of New York Indians, by their chiefs in council assembled, are hereby authorized and empowered to lease or sell the limestone deposits upon their reservation in one or more suitable tracts, after due advertisement, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, and under rules and regulations to be prescribed by him."

Very respectfully,

SAMUEL ADAMS,
First Assistant Secretary.



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